

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

OMB-01 RSR-01 /105 W

----- 096704

R 150745 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4757

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BELFAST

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 DUBLIN 0785

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PBOR, EI

SUBJ: WIDE AREA OF IRISH/ BRITISH AGREEMENT ON NI PROBLEMS

SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO IRISH SOURCE, BRITISH AND IRISH GOVTS, DURING RECENT TALKS, HAVE BEEN LARGELY IN AGREEMENT ON SUCH LONG- TERM NI QUESTIONS AS HOLDING TRIPARTITE TALKS AND FORMING COUNCIL OF IRELAND. IRISH HAVE THUS USED TALKS WITH BRITISH TO URGE MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR CATHOLIC CIVIL RIGHTS IN NI. IRISH WOULD BE DEEPLY WORRIED IF BRITISH PUBLIC PRESSURE SHOULD CAUSE HMG TO CONSIDER WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM NORTH IN NEAR FUTURE. GOI HOPES VERY UCH THAT NI ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WILL PRODUCE VIABLE POWER-SHARING VOT, PROBABLY BASED ON COOPERATION BETWEEN SDLP, PRO- FAULKNER UNIONISTS AND ALLIANCE PARTY. DETAILED GOI THINKING ON COUNCIL OF IRELAND IS CONTAINED IN RECENT PRESS INTERVIEW WITH GARRET FITZGERALD. GOI IS CONCERNED BY THREATS FROM UDA AND PROVOS TO INCREASE VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH AND HAS TRIED TAKE PREVENTIVE MEASURES. END SUMMARY

1. IN DISCUSSION WITH CONTACT CLOSE TO FONMIN, WE  
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REVIEWED GOI POSITIONS ON ALL OF LATEST PROBLEMS RELATED TO NI TROUBLES.

2. WE ASKED FOR SUMMARY OF RECENT TALKS BETWEEN FONMIN FITZGERALD AND WHITELAW. SOURCE SAID WE SHOULD NOT READ TOO MUCH INTO THESE TALKS OR EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM FORTHCOMING TALKS BETWEEN PMS HEATH AND COSGRAVE. THIS WAS NOT SUMMIT EXERCISE OF A KIND EXPECTED PRODUCE ANY GRAND NEW DESIGN. BOTH BRITISH AND IRISH WERE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN GOOD AND FREQUENT CONTACTS; BOTH ALSO REALIZED THAT, WITH NI ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS PENDING, IT WAS PREMATURE TO TALK IN DETAIL ABOUT LONG- TERM PLANS FOR NI FUTURE. WITH WHITELAW, FITZGERALD THEREFORE CONCENTRATED ON PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN CURRENT NI CONSTITUTION BILL. HE SPENT MUCH TIME ON ITS PROVISIONS-- OR LACK OF PROVISIONS-- FOR ENSURING MINORITY CIVIL RIGHTS. FITZGERALD ESPECIALLY FEARED THAT BILL'S PROVISIONS WOULD NOT ADEQUATELY COMBAT DISCRIMINATION IN NI PUBLIC SERVICE AND OTHER EMPLOYMENT. CATHOLIC MEN ON STREET IN NORTH DID NOT REALLY PERCEIVE MUCH PROGRESS IN BASIC CIVIL- RIGHTS MATTERS, EVEN THOUGH, FROM MORE DISTANT PERSPECTIVE, BOTH DUBLIN AND LONDON DID WELL UNDERSTAND THAT THERE HAD BEEN IMPORTANT CHANGES. FITZGERALD HOPED THAT CONSTITUTION BILL WOULD ABOVE ALL PROVIDE FOR PRACTICAL CIVIL RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS OF A KIND THAT WOULD BE NOTICEABLE AT GRASS ROOTS. ON LONGER- TERM POLITICAL PROBLEMS, FITZGERALD FOUND BRITISH FORTHCOMING ON DEVELOPMENTS DESIRED BY GOI. MAIN GOI LONG- TERM INTERESTS ARE IN TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE NEXT FALL AND IN CREATION OF PRACTICAL, FUNCTIONING COUNCIL OF IRELAND. IRISH BELIEVE THAT BRITISH ALSO SEE SOME MERIT IN THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND, IN ANY CASE, ARE WILLING COOPERATE WITH DUBLIN AS UNSTATED QUID PRO QUO FOR IRISH COOPERATION ON SECURITY.

2. WE ASKED FOR GOI ATTITUDE TOWARD NEWSPAPERS REPORTS THAT BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION IS BEGINNING TO PRESS FOR NI TROOP WITHDRAWAL. SOURCE SAID THAT, IN FIRST PLACE, GOI DID NOT YET TAKE SUCH TALK TOO SERIOUSLY, BELIEVING IT TO BE BASED ON AN INEXACT VIETNAM PARALLEL. GOI WOULD, HOWEVER, BE VERY CONCERNED IF BRITISH DID SERIOUSLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BEGIN TO CONSIDER TROOP WITHDRAWAL. PROBABLY NO OTHER FORCE COULD EFFECTIVELY REPLACE BRITISH. NI SECURITY SITUATION IS ALREADY ATROCIOUS; IF BRITISH TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN, IT WOULD BECOME DISASTROUS. SOURCE BELIEVED THAT IRISH LEADERS MIGHT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT SOON. OVER LONG- TERM, OF COURSE, IRISH WANTED SEE SITUATION DEVELOP IN WHICH BRITISH COULD

WITHDRAW, BUT SOURCE REPEATED THAT NEAR- TERM TROOP  
WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE VERY FRIGHTENING DEVELOPMENT.

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3. SINCE ANY PLANS FOR NI FUTURE NOW HINGE ON RESULTS  
OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, WE ASKED SOURCE WHAT GOI EXPECTED  
FOR NEW ASSEMBLY. HE REPLIED THAT GOI INFO WAS NATURALLY  
BETTER ON CATHOLIC SIDE BUT THAT CONSIDERABLE STUDY HAD  
BEEN GIVEN TO MATTER AND THAT GOI PROJECTIONS TURNED OUT  
TO COINCIDE LARGELY WITH THOSE OF PROF RICHARD ROSE, WHO HAS  
WRITTEN BEST RECENT BOOK ON NI POLITICS. GOI BELIEVED  
THAT NI MINORITY ( CATHOLIC) PARTIES WOULD GET ABOUT 22  
SEATS. GOI HOPES THAT SDLP WILL GET MOST OF THESE, WITH  
FEW GOING TO REPUBLICAN EXTREMES. PROSPECTS  
FOR ALLIANCE PARTY DO NOT LOOK GOOD: GOI EXPECTS THAT  
ALLIANCE, PLUS THE MORIBUND NILP, MAY GET TOTAL OF NOT  
MORE THAN EIGHT SEATS BETWEEN THEM, DRAWING MOST VOTES  
FROM CATHOLIC COMMUNITY BUT SOME FROM PROTESTANT  
MODERATES. THIS WOULD MEAN TOTAL OF ABOUT 30 SEATS  
FAVORABLE TO MODERATE PLANS OF LONDON AND DUBLIN ON  
SUCH MATTERS AS TRIPARTITE TALKS AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND.  
SOURCE THOUGHT UNIONISTS WOULD WIN ABOUT 48 SEATS  
DIVIDED ROUGHLY AS FOLLOWS: 20 FOR PRO- FAULKNER GROUP,  
20 FOR LOYALIST ( EXTREMIST) GROUP, AND EIGHT FLOATING  
SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. WE WONDERED IF SOURCE WAS NOT

UNDERESTIMATING FAULKNER A LITTLE, AND HE REPLIED THAT,  
EVEN IF HE WAS, IT WOULD NOT AFFECT GOI PROJECTIONS FOR  
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NEW NI GOVT. GOI EXPECTS THAT BRITISH WILL TRY TO  
FROM GOVT ON BASIS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN SDLP, ALLIANCE  
PARTY, AND PRO- FAULKNER UNIONISTS. THIS SEEMED ONLY  
POSSIBLE BASIS. SDLP CLEARLY HAD TO BE IN ANY NEW NI  
GOVT, AND BRITISH WERE WELL AWARE OF IT. AS MOST  
MODERATE OF MAJOR UNIONISTS FORCES, FAULKNER GROUP WOULD  
ALSO HAVE TO BE INCLUDED, AND ALIANCE WOULD BE AN EASY  
ADDITION. ON PERSONAL BASIS, SOME SDLP POLITICAINS MIGHT  
PREFER EVEN EXTREME LOYALIST TO FAULKNER, BUT LOYALIST/  
SDLP COOPERATION WOULDNOT BE REALISTIC BASIS FOR POWER  
IN NEW ASSEMBLY.

4. SOURCE SAW FAIR CHANCE THAT ASSEMBLY BASED ON SDLP/  
FAULKNER COOPERATION WOULD GO ALONG WITH TRIPARTITE  
TALKS AND FORMATION OF COUNCIL OF IRELAND. FAULKNER  
MIGHT NOT WELCOME MEANINGFUL DEALINGS WITH REPUBLIC,  
BUT GOI COULD, QUITE SINCERELY, PROVIDE ENOUGH SAFE-  
GUARDS TO MAKE COOPERATION POSSIBLE FOR HIM.

5. ON LONG- TERM PLANS FOR COUNCIL OF IRELAND, SOURCE  
CONFIRMED ACCURACY OF RECENT INTERVIEW WITH GARRET  
FITZGERALD IN " FORTNIGHT," NEW BELFAST POLITICAL REVIEW.  
IN INTERVIEW, FITZGERALD IS MODERATE AND FORTHCOMING  
IN STRESSING GOI WILLINGNESS TO TAKE STEPS NECESSARY FOR  
EFFECTIVE COUNCIL OPERATION. HE SAYS THREE TIMES THAT  
NORTHERN PROTESTANT MAJORITY MUST BE ABLE TO CONTROL,  
AND TO BE SEEN TO CONTROL, COUNCIL' S EVOLUTION. HE  
VERY MUCH HOPES, OF COURSE, THAT PROTESTANTS WILL  
EVENTUALLY AGREE TO SOME STEPS IN DIRECTION OF IRISH  
UNITY. HE WANTS COUNCIL TO BEGIN NOT AS A " DEBATING  
CHAMBER" BUT AS A BODY WITH PRACTICAL TAKS IN NON-  
CONTROVERSIAL AREAS. AS EXAMPLES, HE LISTS TOURIMS,  
INDUSTRIAL PROMOTION, REGIONAL POLICY AND ENERGY POLICY.  
( THIS LITTLE ISLAND, HE OBSERVES, NEEDS ONLY ONE NUCLEAR  
POWER STATION.) HE SAYS THAT GOI WILL HAVE TO BE WILLING  
TO SURRENDER CONTROL IN SUCH AREAS TO COUNCIL.  
FITZGERALD, WHO PROBABLY KNOWS EC BETTER THAN ANY OTHER  
IRISH POLITICIAN, SEVERAL TIMES MENTIONS ECTTARALLELS  
FOR COUNCIL OF IRELAND, AND HE AGREES WHEN INTERVIEWER  
SAYS: " YOU ARE IN EFFECT FOLLOWING EUROPEAN MODEL OF  
BEGINNING WITH ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THINKING  
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ONLY LATER OF TRANSFERING POWER TO PARLIAMENTARY

INSTITUTIONS, WITHOUT AT ANY TIME SAYING THAT THIS NECESSARILY MEANS PROGRESS TOWARDS REUNIFICATION. YOU MIGHT BE THINKING IN TERMS OF A FEDERATION. YOU MIGHT BE THINKING OF JUST GOING ON AS WE ARE."

6. STILL ON NI PROBLEMS, WE ASKED SOURCE WHETHER GOI WAS CONCERNED BY RECENT THREATS FROM UDA AND PROVO IRA TO USE VIOLENCE IN SOUTH. ON PROVO SIDE, MAIRE DRUMM HAS THREATENED VIOLENCE IF TWO REPUBLICANS ARE EXTRADITED TO BRITISH AUTHORITIES FOR OFFENSES IN NI AND SCOTLAND. SOURCE SAID THAT GOI WAS, OF COURSE, CONCERNED, BUT THAT THREATS WERE OT UNEXEPTED. SOUTHERN POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES HAD BEEN UNDEROING BUILD- UP AGAINST SUCH CONTINGENCIES. WITH FULL SUPPORT OF POPULATION, FORCES COULD PROBABLY KEEP VIOLENCE WITHIN BOUNDS, THOUGH INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS COULD NEVER BE PREVENTED.

7 COMMENT: IN ALL OF ABOVE, SEEMS CLEAR THAT BRITISH AND IRISH POLICIES ON NI TROUBLES ARE GROWING CLOSER AND COOPERATION MORE EFFECTIVE. THIS, ALONG WITH GROWING PUBLIC REVULSION TOWARD VIOLENCE, IS MOST HOPEFUL OF DEVELOPMENTS IN A SITUATION THAT REMAINS VERY THREATENING. DUBLIN' S ASSESSMENT OF NI POLITICAL SITUATION DOES NOT SOUND VERY CHEERFUL, HINGING AS IT DOES ON SUCH UNLIKELY BEDFOLLOWS AS FAULKNER AND SDLP. MOORE

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